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WORLD ORGANIZATION
1920-1940

The Technical and Non-Political Activities of the League of Nations, the Permanent Court of International Justice, and the International Labor Organization described with particular reference to the future by a group of American experts who have participated in them during the past twenty years.

PRINCETON · 1941

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FUTURE. Dr. Frank Aydelotte, Director of the Institute for Advanced Study.

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FOREWORD

For twenty years, during the two decades between World Wars, a succession of Americans crossed the ocean to Europe to add their competence and skill to the technical and non-political activities set under way by the three principal international cooperative agencies resulting from the first World War: the League of Nations, the International Labor Office, and the Permanent Court of International Justice.

These Americans comprised many of the foremost technicians and specialists in the country, representing almost every phase of international interest. Beginning hesitatingly at first in the period of uncertainty after the first World War, they increased in both number and confidence as the years passed until at the outbreak of the second World War, they represented a complete and effective cross-section of international life.

Some made only a single trip; others crossed regularly each year; a few took up residence abroad. Some went as individual experts, some as American government representatives, others as international officers.

Together they possessed some of the most valuable knowledge and experience in technical international collaboration available for American service. Yet, though they were all working on different phases of the same central subject of laying the groundwork for improved international relations, they had never had occasion to meet as a group or exchange views amongst themselves.

With the outbreak of the second World War, the situation of these previous twenty years changed fundamentally. The flow of American technicians to Europe ceased and a counter-eddy set in of international technicians to the Americas.

The first formal step in the latter direction took place in the summer of 1940, at the height of the German offensive, when three educational and scientific institutions at Princeton, Princeton University, the Institute for Advanced Study, and the Rockefeller Institute of Medical Research, united in a joint invitation to the League to establish its technical services at Princeton for the duration of the emergency. This invitation was shortly accepted for the Economic, Financial and Transit Section, which reached Princeton in the late summer. Shortly afterwards, the International Labor Office accepted

an invitation from McGill University to establish a working center at Montreal, and subsequently the Opium Central Board and Supervisory Body established a branch office in Washington.

In view of these transfers, the three Princeton institutions felt it would be useful to bring together as many as possible of the Americans who had during the years participated in these varied activities. They were surprised both by the number and the variety of those who had participated in such work and were gratified by the response, which was double that anticipated.

Three main sessions were held. The first was a formal dinner at the Princeton Inn on April 19, 1941, with an address of welcome on behalf of the three inviting institutions by President Harold W. Dodds of Princeton University and replies on behalf of the League by Hon. Carl J. Hambro, President of the Norwegian Storting and also of the League Assembly, who had taken up residence in Princeton, and Mr. A. Loveday, Director of the Economic, Financial, and Transit Section which had become established at Princeton. The second was a business session in the Common Room of the Institute for Advanced Study, presided by the Director of the Institute, Dr. Frank Aydelotte, and with eight brief statements by American technicians covering the most varied fields of international interest: Economics, Hon. Henry F. Grady; Statistics, Mr. E. Dana Durand; Double Taxation, Mr. Mitchell B. Carroll; Depressions, Mr. W. W. Riefler; Health, Dr. Frank G. Boudreau; Nutrition, Miss Faith Williams; Drugs, Mr. Herbert L. May; and Social, Miss Elsa Castendyck. The third was a lunch at the Princeton Inn, presided by Mr. Arthur Sweetser, Director in the Secretariat at Geneva temporarily established at Princeton, which was devoted to a description of the two associated agencies, the International Labor Organization by Mr. Carter Goodrich, Chairman of the Governing Body, and the Permanent Court of International Justice by Judge Manley O. Hudson, and concluding observations by Dr. Mary E. Woolley, Chairman of the American National Committee to Preserve and Aid the League's Technical and Non-political Work, and Dr. Frank Aydelotte, Director of the Institute for Advanced Study. It was interesting indeed that, though the United States is not a member of the League or the Court, a complete and authoritative account could be given of their work by American citizens who have held high positions within it.

The gathering closed with a resolution offered by Hon. Henry F. Grady and seconded by Dr. Frank G. Boudreau, expressing appreciation to the Princeton institutions both for the present reunion and for their foresight in inviting the League's technical agencies to Princeton, satisfaction that that invitation had been accepted in principle, that some services had reached this country and that others might follow, and endorsement of the special appreciation voiced by several speakers of the cooperation given by the Rockefeller Foundation. The resolution concluded with expression of the belief that "whatever the precise future of international relations, these technical and non-political activities must be continued as an integral part of world organization" and of "warm appreciation of recent statements by the President and the Secretary of State of the United States that the American government has cordially cooperated in such work and hopes greatly to see it preserved and extended."

Thereupon, a suggestion was put forward by Mr. Charles F. Darlington that this be considered but the first such meeting and that others follow, a suggestion which received general agreement. After the meeting, the Princeton authorities sent a cabled greeting to the League's Acting Secretary-General, Mr. Sean Lester, in Geneva, who in reply expressed the gratitude of himself and his colleagues for the encouragement given them by the confidence shown in the future and renewing his appreciation of the spirit of friendly hospitality and comradeship shown his colleagues in Princeton.

WELCOME

PRESIDENT HAROLD W. DODDS

President Harold W. Dodds of Princeton University opened the gathering with a formal greeting to some 150 guests on behalf of the three inviting institutions.

"It has been a great satisfaction to all of us in Princeton that the Economic, Financial, and Transit Section saw fit to settle amongst us and that this reunion should be held on the campus which Mr. Wilson once ruled and which is not completely dissociated from the League.

"Perhaps you will permit me to read part of the telegram which our three institutions sent to the League on July 11; this explains better than any words of mine possibly could why we wanted the technical sections of the League to come here. It said:

> " 'During the past two decades we have watched with the greatest admiration the growth of the technical sections of the Secretariat of the League of Nations. They have provided leadership in the promotion of international collaboration between scholars, in the furthering of public health, in the control of opium, and in the international exploration of economic and financial problems. Recently we have become increasingly apprehensive that the war may do more than merely interrupt this work. With the involvement in hostilities of all countries surrounding Geneva, we are fearful that the trained personnel of these sections, so carefully built up, may be dispersed, and that the records so painstakingly accumulated may be destroyed.
>
> " 'We are extending this invitation because of the great importance which we attach to the effective and scholarly work of the technical sections of the League. We understand the difficulty of building up such an effective personnel as these sections now contain, and are most eager that they should not be dispersed, and that the work of these sections may not be interrupted by the war.'

"The League Secretariat accepted this invitation in respect of the Financial, Economic, and Transit Section, and Mr. Loveday and his colleagues are now here. We hope they are as happy with us as we are with them. They have promptly earned the respect and support of the community.

"In this reunion the old adage 'In time of peace prepare for war' is being reversed. It is still possible in the United States to discuss the

objectives of the war, the terms of the peace, and the sort of world we want after the war. Those of you who have been associated as co-workers in the greatest experiment in international collaboration that the world has ever seen are here primarily to consider some of these problems.

"It would be presumptuous indeed for a layman to undertake to review the work of the League or analyze its future. But certainly any layman can understand that no plans for the future of the world or even of America can afford to neglect or ignore the experience lodged in the minds and memories of those here present. Had that experience and wisdom been available in 1918, we might not now be facing the situation we are facing.

"We Americans are perhaps more familiar with the work of the Section now in Princeton than with other League work. We know its intelligence and reporting services and appreciate how thorough and helpful they have been. We have come to realize that, like disease and drugs, business cycles do not respect pre-established political boundaries; this Section has helped educate many of us in something of which certain Americans knew little before, namely that even in the economic life of the nation and the individual, boundary lines between states are in the long run of small importance.

"When it comes to increasing international cooperation, we have also learned how easy it is to draft blueprints which because of some curious twist in human nature just will not work. In health matters, of course, the issue is obvious. The activities in this field have been conspicuously successful; their experience cannot be ignored in any consideration of post-war reconstruction. The League attack on the drug trade, its experimentation with mandates, even with plebiscites, all represent a fund of precedent and experience in administration which will be most valuable for the future. There are many other aspects which I might recount, but from the standpoint of a layman who has watched the League, who has realized its limitations and difficulties, who has never been happy about our own official relation to it, there seems to me an immense amount of data which can be amassed from the impressions and knowledge of persons like yourselves. Princeton is very happy indeed to have some small part in this vital work."

RESPONSE

HON. CARL J. HAMBRO

The Hon. Carl J. Hambro, President of the Assembly of the League and of the Norwegian Storting, was available as a temporary resident of Princeton to reply to this welcome.

"I am very happy to speak tonight for the League. I happened to be in London when the Princeton invitation was extended, was asked by Mr. Greenwood of the British Cabinet to come to see him, and was told that Lord Lothian had urged prompt acceptance. I at once got in touch with the Foreign Office, with Mr. Bruce of Australia, a warm League friend, and by telegraph with Mr. Avenol, Secretary-General The invitation came at a moment when moral encouragement was sorely needed; it greatly enthused the League's friends.

"We felt it to be important that a League office on this side be established at an educational center. We had hoped it might make a contribution to American education; tonight we see that hope being fulfilled. Many Americans have been cooperating with the League, but always with a certain self-consciousness due to their government's non-membership in the League. Not until today have they met in the same room or with the consciousness of all working for a single common purpose.

"Few people understand the League's position today. Forty-eight nations are members at this moment; that they are supporting it amidst all this crisis and that its organizations have been able to survive is proof of strong vitality. The League is paying its way as it always has. From the start till the end of 1939, its budgets have totalled $120,000,000. Of this total, 93.13% has been paid into the Treasury, a percentage which few states could equal. Of the rest, 1.64% has been consolidated as debts on which installments are paid annually; .88% are outstanding debts and may be paid this year; and 4.33% has been cancelled. Last year all member states at war paid all or part of their contributions. Every member in the British Empire paid in full, as did Holland; Belgium and France paid one-quarter; Norway paid a third and some invaded states made good-will token payments. Brazil, member of the Labor Office but not of the League, has paid its full contribution to the former for 1941 and what would be its share of the Court's expenses. The Pensions Fund paid out last year to retiring officials representing 75% of the staff $3,660,000, a withdrawal which few national pensions services would have been

able to support. There was a deficit in the budget last year but it was possible to meet it out of reserves wisely accumulated in better years. Next year will be a difficult one but we are entitled to a certain amount of optimism as to the outcome.

"The League is obviously passing through a critical period. But the international experience of these twenty years is of tremendous value. The data assembled, the traditions built up, the experience in large-scale international administration acquired could not disappear without regrettable loss to the international community. Whatever be the future of the world, the need for intelligent cooperation will be greater than it ever has been.

"The greatest weakness of the League in these past twenty years has been its lack of universality. First, of course, the United States was not a member, and when Germany, Japan, Italy, and later Russia, left, it became even more difficult to fulfill obligations based on universality. In all discussions in the League, you will find that as a leit motif.

"People also often forget that the League is but an instrument created for the use of constructive statesmen or governments, and an instrument is not operative in and by itself. When statesmen or governments were unwilling to use that instrument, it could not function. This was not the fault of the instrument; it was the fault of those lacking moral courage and will-power to use it.

"I entertain great hopes for future international cooperation. For the up-building of the post-war world, the work that can be done by the various sections of the League with the generous help being given on this side of the ocean will be fundamental. In the present hour of darkness, it is essential to build in confidence for the future. We are profoundly grateful to the three Princeton institutions and the Rockefeller Foundation for their far-sighted understanding and cooperation and hope their every contribution to international cooperation will return to repay them manifold. No true settlement can ever be effected without an immense amount of just such work as this; it constitutes the vital groundwork for tomorrow."

PROGRAM

MR. A. LOVEDAY

An outline of the world's economic problems and of the program of the group of League economic and financial experts now on mission at Princeton was given by Mr. A. Loveday, Director of the Economic, Financial, and Transit Department.

"Dr. Hambro has given expression," Mr. Loveday said, "to the gratitude which the League feels to our hosts tonight for the action they took last summer in inviting the technical services of the League to come to this country and to this town. I would like to preface my remarks by one word of personal gratitude on behalf of my colleagues and myself for the constant kindness and kindliness they have shown us since the very first day of our arrival in Princeton; for the readiness with which you, Mr. Chairman, agreed to allow a distinguished member of your University to take charge of a very important part of the work we are planning to do here dealing with demographic questions; for the endless time and trouble Dr. Aydelotte has devoted to getting us over here, providing accommodations, actually building accommodations for us, looking after every detail himself; for the patience with which Dr. TenBroeck has waited for a definitive answer to the kind invitation extended by his Institute to the Health Section of the League.

"I should like also to add my very sincere thanks to the Rockefeller Foundation for the constant and very real help they have afforded us, and to the Milbank Fund, which quite unbeknownst to us, recently made a grant to help in the work on demographic questions, of which I have just spoken.

"Now, with all this help and good will, what are we doing and what can we do?

"We have, alas, only one committee which is active today, the Fiscal Committee. Its acting and active Chairman is going to talk on that subject tomorrow and will give you a much more vivid description of its work than I could possibly hope to do. Apart from this, we are trying to follow the economic developments and tendencies in the world today, both because of their importance to us now and because the world which will be when peace breaks out will be the world which results from all these changes which are going on now and not the world which we knew when the war started.

"We are continuing, therefore, to publish here or in Geneva the Statistical Year-Book and Monthly Bulletin, and in addition are at the moment engaged upon the preparation of a World Economic Survey, in which I hope we shall be able to summarize the major tendencies which have taken place since the outbreak of war and are taking place today. To do that seems to me all the more important because the problems which will present themselves to statesmen when the time comes will prove enormously more difficult than the problems which presented themselves a century and a quarter ago at Vienna or just under a quarter of a century ago at the Conference of Paris. Statesmen will have a task of formidable magnitude, because they will have no foundation on which to build. When this war broke out, the economic system of the world had, indeed, quite simply broken down. When statesmen are faced, therefore, with trying to lay the basis of a peace, they will have to build anew without foundations, and if you are going to do that, it seems to me absolutely imperative that you should think in advance.

"But how can you do it in the face of the difficulties, first, that you have no past on which you can build, and, secondly, that you have no future of which you can be assured? I think, despite these difficulties, there are some useful things which one should do and can do. Obviously, in a situation of this sort, you must organize your work with very great care and have certain guiding principles on which to conduct it. I personally have three: First, that it is wholly useful to try to learn the lessons of the past. The world broke down mainly as a result of the depression of 1929; but it broke down also as the result of a whole series of mistakes prior and subsequent to 1929. Let us be clear about what was done wrong in the past, before planning what we should do in the future.

The next is that whatever happens, you can, I think, be certain that those having the responsibility for policy will require when the time comes certain aggregations of facts, certain analyses of facts. Perhaps I can explain what I mean by an example. We have since we came here printed one volume. That volume is on The Trade of Europe, aiming to consider what the position of Europe was in the trade of the world, how far it was dependent on other continents, what was the part it played in the transfer of funds from one part of the world to another, and what was the interdependence between one part of Europe and another. I am going to follow up this work with one

on the trade of the rest of the world and more especially, the dollar-sterling-peso area. You can be quite certain that information of that sort analyzed properly will be wanted and demanded.

"Now I come to my third principle, which is much the most important. There is one assumption that I think you can safely make, that there are imbedded in our history and in our social organism certain forces that are so strong that they are likely to survive all the destruction and upheaval of war. There are two such forces of which one can feel quite sure: 1) That group of forces which emanate from our general demographic pattern and from the demographic behavior of people; 2) that group of forces which lead to those violent fluctuations in economic activity which have characterized the whole of the last two centuries and which lead to the tragedy of depressions and unemployment and the loss resulting from unemployment. I think, in looking back, that in Geneva we neglected unduly the demographic issues. Throughout the nineteenth century we have had these wild fluctuations of economic activity and the whole period has been be-spattered by periods of depression which have controlled our destinies and which society and governments have been wholly unable to control. We know that the depression of 1929 led to a decade of chaos and was largely responsible for the present war, for the misery we all suffer, and for the devastation that is taking place in the world. We have got to face up to the issue. We know that these factors of instability exist, that we failed to control them, that they survive wars and that indeed wars accentuate them. And we know, too, that this war is bringing about changes which will quite certainly render our whole economic machine more unstable than it was in 1939.

"Moreover, as I see it, we shall be faced by a world which intellectually and emotionally is going to react much more intensely to these phenomena of depressions, to the particular phenomenon of unemployment than the society with which we have been familiar. I think that the industrial worker, whether man or woman, is going to say after this war, if we could all work to destroy, why can we not all work to produce? That means that the social pressure upon governments after the war when unemployment becomes really serious will be far more grave and will bring with it greater risks to governments, and that they will have somehow or another to meet the danger. How can they find a way out? Quite obviously if they do what they did

before and one deflates its currency, another inflates its currency, and another controls its exchange and no single one of them takes the slightest notice of what the other is doing—if that is repeated, then it is clear they will create a chaos of price levels and drive one country after another to shut itself out of what is really a mad world. The only solution is a joint international and constructive anti-depression policy pursued between those powers which desire to stand for freedom and which have a dominant enough position in the markets of the world really to determine the degree of activity in the world, those powers, which are few, which, if a depression does occur, might in fact save the situation.

"That is the sort of problem we are studying. We have a wide program of studies, with question after question centering round this crucial problem of the essential dynamism of economic life. It is a profound satisfaction to have our small group working under the admirable circumstances available to us at Princeton and in cooperation with others of the staff remaining at the League's headquarters in Geneva. It is our hope that, with our two offices thus centrally located, we may make at least a modest contribution to the world's great problems of today and tomorrow."

ECONOMICS

HON. HENRY F. GRADY

A summary of the problems of the League's Economic Committee in the period between wars and an analysis of three possible outcomes of the present war were given by the Hon. Henry F. Grady, former Assistant Secretary of State, Member of the Committee since January 1937, and its first American Chairman.

"The period between the two wars was not a period of economic peace," Mr. Grady said. "Except for a short period in the late 'twenties when an attempt was made to reconstruct the international commercial and financial system, there was more peace in the political and military field than in the economic. There was no stability, no cooperation between nations.

"The League Committee made constant efforts to point out the course that would lead to the rehabilitation of the world economic system on a basis which would give security, prosperity and social peace; the history of the various technical committees is a continuing narrative of what should have been done and was not done. That the efforts did not succeed is not, of course, a criticism of the efforts; the responsibility for the failure lies elsewhere with those who did not follow the policies recommended.

"We are now faced, in looking to the future, with precisely the same problems the Committee wrestled with up to the Second World War, though on an accentuated scale. There will be no peace until economic warfare is brought to an end and no rehabilitation until the nations can think in terms of cooperation. Totalitarianism is based on regimentation and economic warfare, hence there can be no economic peace, and no real military peace, until the forces behind it have been destroyed.

"We are faced with three possibilities at the end of hostilities. First, a Nazi victory and domination of Europe, leading to a period of building anew for future aggression until the desire for world domination is realized. During that period there would be a return to the totalitarian trade methods practised before military warfare broke out. It is not surprising that those of us who hoped to get Germany to accept the philosophy behind the Hull trade agreements were not successful; she did not accept their limitations because she

was building up conditions which would make military conquest easier.

"It fell to me in early 1939 to study German economic penetration technique in the Central European and Balkan countries and I can easily visualize what would happen in Latin-America and in a large degree in our own country if Germany won. The technique is simple. Germany buys only the goods she needs and forces the purchase of her own products. She does not allow the balance of trade to be against her. Under her barter system, there would be to a greater degree even than in the 1930's no transfer of funds between countries. Bi-lateralism with Germany the dictator of world trade would be the "new order"! A country with such a control of trade could easily determine other countries' economic development. So the economic war would go on and we would to a large degree be its victim.

"On the other extreme a democratic victory would mean the overthrow of the totalitarian method and lay the groundwork for the rehabilitation of the international system as the only sound basis for peace. There would still be problems, of course, but with the elimination of the economic aggressors, there would at least be a basis for cooperation and common action. Economic warfare is more menacing than military; unless it is completely eliminated, the prospect of world rehabilitation is not promising.

"The third possibility is something between the two, where the British Empire is not overthrown but Continental Europe is in the hands of the totalitarian powers. This suggests the possibility of the two systems endeavoring to get along together, but our Committee which had the problem before it in the Spring of 1939 was loath to study the question because obviously it meant studying methods of economic counter-attack in order to meet an irreconcilable system head-on. I am sure this alternative would mean simply another armistice. A bridge between the two systems is hard to imagine. Concessions would be on the part of the democracies which would in effect accept the totalitarian system. That would mean defeat on the economic front and the acceptance of domination and dictation. There cannot be any solution to this problem until there is the will to peace and acceptance of common interest in the world. The problems which a world economic committee would have to face are only accentuated."

STATISTICS

MR. E. DANA DURAND

Never in history, according to Mr. E. Dana Durand, Member of the League's Committee on Statistical Experts and Member of the United States Tariff Commission, has there been available to the statesmen, the publicists, the students, and the people of the world such a clear picture of the economic situation of the several countries and regions and of the world as a whole as has been available during the last ten or fifteen years through the efforts of the League.

"For many years," Mr. Durand said, "the Economic and Financial Section of the League has had a broad and ambitious conception of the service the League could render by bringing together the economic statistics of the different countries, combining them into regional and world totals, interpreting their significance, and helping improve the national services. The constantly increasing complexity of economic life has made essential to the conduct of both private and public business a wide fund of information, most of it necessarily in statistical form. The world has truly become statistics-minded.

"The task of compiling these statistics was, however, no easy one. Many countries, many branches of economic activity, and multitudes of individual commodities enter into world production and trade. The original data are expressed in varying units of quantity and of money; there are many gaps which must be made up by estimates or taken into consideration in interpreting combined totals; countries vary greatly with regard to the promptness with which their statistics are made available. Many national statistical services are completely deficient; even in the advanced services, the field is sometimes inadequately covered or the methods sometimes unsound.

"The League's efforts began in its earliest days in cooperation with the International Institute of Statistics. Its greatest development, however, took place in the past twelve years. Following recommendations of the 1927 World Economic Conference, the League called an international conference on economic statistics, which brought together delegates of all the major and most of the less important countries of the world. This Conference resulted in an International Convention on Economic Statistics which went into force in 1929.

"That Convention contains provisions regarding all important branches of economic statistics except labor and agricultural, which

are covered by other international organizations. Recognizing, however, that progress must be gradual, the Convention established a permanent committee to carry the work further. That Committee, consisting of persons appointed by the League Council and representatives of non-member adherents, and selected not as representatives of their governments but in their individual capacity, has usually comprised about ten members of international reputation, most of them occupying or having occupied the highest positions in their national statistical services. The Committee has met annually at Geneva, with frequent sub-committees and much correspondence, and has made numerous reports to the governments of the world which serve as standards for statistical procedure.

"The bulk of its factual material has, of course, been compiled in the League Secretariat, which has issued various serial publications, including especially the Monthly Bulletin of Statistics, the Statistical Yearbook, publications relating to World Production and Prices, Statistics of International Trade, Review of World Trade, International Trade in Certain Raw Materials and Foodstuffs, Balances of Payments, Public Finance, and Money and Banking. At the same time, however, it is impossible to over-emphasize the importance of the contributions of fact and still more of judgment of the Committee or the thoroughness with which it has worked. The work, though obviously greatly handicapped by the present political situation, has led to far better results than could have been anticipated and is one of the essential elements which must be safeguarded for any post-war organization. The main outlines have already been put in place; what is now necessary is to safeguard them through the crisis and extend them afterwards."

TAXATION

MR. MITCHELL B. CARROLL

An account of the League's work in double taxation and fiscal evasion was given by Mr. Mitchell B. Carroll, member since 1934 and Chairman since 1938 of the League's Fiscal Committee, and former official of the Commerce and Treasury Departments.

"Perhaps the viability of the Fiscal Committee is due to the fact that it is concerned with one of those two inevitables—death and taxes, and that a primary objective has been to formulate ways to prevent double taxation from contributing to the death of international business.

"The efforts of the Fiscal Committee and the League of Nations committees preceding its organization have, during the past two decades, conduced to the conclusion of over sixty general treaties for the prevention of double taxation in the field of income and property taxes, and of over two hundred conventions or agreements for the reciprocal exemption of income from business done through certain types of agents, the reciprocal exemption of shipping and air navigation profits, the prevention of double taxation in the field of death duties and other particular levies.

"At the outbreak of the present war, the network of conventions covered practically the whole of Europe and even included the United States through its general treaties with France and Sweden, and its many agreements relative to shipping profits. The studies of double taxation from the viewpoint of obstructive effects on international trade had led to an examination of the impact of excessive levies upon domestic economy.

"In 1938, the Fiscal Committee, at the instance of the Mexican delegate before the Assembly of the League, had been asked to study the principles which should underlie income, property, turn-over and other taxes in order that the findings might be helpful to Latin American countries which were in the process of developing their tax systems. As the war swept over Europe, the Committee's torch of progress was carried to Mexico City, where it held its first regional meeting in the Western Hemisphere at the time Paris was falling. High officials and other experts from Argentine, Brazil, Peru, Venezuela, Mexico, Canada and the United States convened in the Salon Panamericano of the National Palace in the ancient capital of

the Aztecs, to pass on a report embodying the preliminary results of the studies which had been made at the instance of Mexico.

"Furthermore, the delegates adopted at first reading a draft convention for the avoidance of double income taxation, which embodied many of the detailed provisions found in the most recent general conventions to which leading European countries, as well as the United States, were parties. A model convention has therefore been agreed upon in principle by representatives of an important number of the leading countries of this hemisphere, which will serve as a basis for agreeing upon fair limits to tax jurisdiction, and for obviating the obstructions to inter-American trade that would result from tax practices that have been recognized as unwise by the countries of the Old World.

"The need for carrying on the work of the Fiscal Committee in this hemisphere was shown by the adoption at the first meeting of the Inter-American Bar Association in Havana on March 26, 1941, of a resolution calling upon the members of the association to urge their respective governments to conclude treaties for the prevention of discriminatory, extraterritorial and double taxation. Delegates from various Latin American countries, in supporting the adoption of this resolution, pointed out that even the provisions in United States law for the prevention of double taxation have been curtailed in their effectiveness through restrictive interpretations, and that recent United States fiscal legislation imposes a considerable discrimination in rates applicable to nonresident aliens and foreign corporations which, if followed as an example by Latin American countries, would lead to raising serious obstructions to inter-American trade.

"Hence, under the guidance of Mr. Loveday, and of Mr. Deperon, its secretary, the Fiscal Committee can look forward to exceedingly useful work in the Western Hemisphere, as well as elsewhere. This complicated problem of taxation will become even more complicated as the world draws together; its study will have to be greatly accelerated and intensified in any post-war international life. Taxes, like death, will always be with us; more and more they must become scientific, coordinated, and inter-related."

DEPRESSIONS

MR. W. W. RIEFLER

The purposes and possible future activities of the Delegation on Economic Depressions were described by Mr. W. W. Riefler, member of the Delegation, alternate member of the League's Financial Committee, and special adviser to Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau.

"The Delegation on Economic Depressions was appointed in 1938 to appraise the policies which governments had pursued to extricate their countries from the Great Depression of the early 1930's. It was then felt that sufficient time had elapsed to permit a judgment as to these various policies with the object of suggesting measures to be adopted in future crises. During the Great Depression, the preponderance of effort on the part of most countries had been on internal measures of reconstruction. Some of these measures promoted revival from both an internal and external point of view, but others were addressed solely to the improvement of the internal situation without regard to their effect upon economic activity in the world at large. Some, in fact, were effective solely at the expense of other countries and played their part in that fractionalization of the international economic order that preceded the war.

"It has been the Delegation's task to comb over as carefully as possible the range of experience represented by these various measures; to make an attempt to distinguish between recovery measures that had been effective and measures that had failed to be effective; and, in distinguishing between them, to emphasize those that had benefited the country adopting them without penalizing other nations. Three meetings had been held and a preliminary Draft Report completed before the outbreak of war. Whether it would be good policy to finish that Report as projected or reorientate it to the present very radically changed situation, is a question now under discussion. The problem of business fluctuations and the devastation that accompanies business crises is more apropos than ever. This war will certainly have an aftermath in which the economic policies pursued by governments will be crucial. We are not sure, however, whether the Draft Report, which of necessity was couched in general terms covering all types of depressions will be particularly apropos with respect to the very specific problems that may be expected at the end of the war. It might, therefore, be better to defer our general Report and devote ourselves instead to a series of interim reports directed toward

specific post-war economic problems or to an analysis of the effect which current economic policies may be expected to exert on post-war readjustment problems. While the Delegation as a whole could not be assembled at present, a considerable number of the Delegates are now in this country.

"There is one problem we have had in all our work to which I would like to call attention from the point of view of international policy. In the course of our work the Delegation has had to assume that if governments were intelligent they would cooperate. We have recommended certain policies which would be constructive provided all the important governments cooperated in their adoption. There is a distinct danger, however, in reliance upon this approach to international problems, particularly economic problems, for it means that our international order may be expected to survive so long as all important governments are intelligent and do cooperate, but that it is liable to serious breakdown on any occasion when one of these governments fails in its cooperation.

"From a purely personal point of view, therefore, I would like to point out that the real international approach to the amelioration of depressions requires something much more fundamental as a framework within which to operate than mere cooperation. Our Delegation cannot do anything about this except to point out the problem, which is essentially political in character. My own feeling is that somehow, some way, we must find a means of creating joint bodies with operating responsibility for handling international economic problems; joint bodies, for example, in the field of monetary policy or joint bodies with respect to the management of international schemes for the stabilization of raw materials. If bodies such as these could be created and made effective, a delegation such as ours might look forward with more hope to a fruitful outcome for its recommendations."

HEALTH

DR. FRANK G. BOUDREAU

"A glorious adventure in peaceful progress and fruitful cooperation for social benefit" was the description of the League's health work given by Dr. Frank G. Boudreau, Member of the League's Health Section for twelve years and now Executive Director of the Milbank Memorial Fund.

"The League's first task in the early 'twenties," Dr. Boudreau said, "was to deal with the pestilence which springs from war. A tragic situation prevailed in Eastern Europe; no single government could cope with the mass of disease-ridden refugees fleeing in panic from their homes. The League persuaded those governments to work together against the common peril and the epidemics were soon conquered.

"Shortly afterwards, a system of epidemiological intelligence was set up in Geneva to do for epidemics what a fire-alarm system does for fire prevention. Later, a rapid alarm-system was set up in Singapore, the Eastern crossroads of disease. That Bureau, though obviously handicapped by the war, is still receiving daily and weekly epidemic news from nearly all the ports in the Far East and is broadcasting it over a dozen stations to port health officers, ships at sea and planes in the air. The Bureau's work is so keenly appreciated that it has been supported not only by the League but by special contributions from Eastern countries.

"Biological standardization was also one of the Health Section's earliest activities. Vitamin potency is often expressed in International Units, that is to say, League of Nations Units, which means that, as far as these preparations are concerned, a universal language has been achieved. This is also true for some thirty substances essential to public health such as sera, vaccines, and other therapeutic substances.

"Space does not permit descriptions of the League's health work in malaria, leprosy, public health training, and rural sanitation. But I must speak of two special enterprises. Around 1926-1928, governments began to feel that this new international agency could help them without trespassing on their national sovereignity. First Persia, then Corsica asked for assistance in control of a single disease, malaria. Yugoslavia went a step further and Greece further still. An influenza-like disease called dengue, which had stricken Prime Min-

ister Venizelos and nearly all his government, drew their attention to the grave deficiencies in the Greek health services. When the League was asked for help, it called in experts from many countries, trained health officers in a new school established with the help of the Rockefeller Foundation, and organized a model health district. This, with the rehabilitation of some million and a half refugees from Asia Minor whom the League helped settle, leads me to believe that at least some of the fortitude displayed in the present war derives from this first experience in technical international cooperation.

"It was China, however, which took fullest advantage of the League's technical opportunities. The League Health Organization had helped China to establish health services, urban and rural health centers and hospitals and to make a beginning against epidemic diseases. But China was not content with that help alone. She needed roads, railroads, banks, new farming methods and the modernizing of her whole economic structure. So she called on the League, which provided experts in many technical fields, at one time as many as thirty-five. Rapid progress was made; the resistance the Chinese have offered to unprovoked aggression shows they built soundly and well.

"Thus the League's work was not centered wholly or even mainly in Geneva. It was to be found in the different countries: in Greece, China, and Yugoslavia, in Chile, Brazil and Spain. National committees on housing, for instance, were established at League instigation in several countries. National nutrition committees were also set up by more than a score of governments. It is our task to save all we can of this work so that the technics and experience as well as some of the personnel may be available for the future reconstruction of the world. The problems of health facing the world after this war will be grave beyond precedent; they will require the utmost strength available to meet them. The League's experience in all continents and in the most varied fields of interest offers one of our most valuable resources in facing these formidable problems."

NUTRITION

MISS FAITH WILLIAMS

The League's work in nutrition not only has already made a great contribution to thinking in the United States and other countries but has an even larger opportunity ahead, Miss Faith Williams, Member of the Nutrition Committee and Member of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor, said. Its achievements in the past are but a promise of its future.

"At the beginning of the first World War, work in nutrition had progressed to a point where there was general agreement as to its value. It would have been possible, if the war had not interfered in 1914, to undertake a large-scale nutrition campaign which might well have changed the course of human developments. But research in the chemistry of nutrition continued despite the war, and at its close, it was possible to resume progress. Improvements in agricultural production technique and in the transportation of fresh vegetables and fruit effected great changes in food consumption habits. The depression, however, produced an almost impossible dilemma, with enormous surpluses on the one hand and starvation in the cities on the other.

"At first, no one could think of anything better to do than to restrict agricultural production. By 1934, however, discontent with this procedure led to proposals at League meetings for studies of the dilemma. The nutrition work at Geneva began with a resolution introduced into the Governing Body of the International Labor Office by the delegates of Australia and New Zealand, supported by British labor delegates and American social workers. An advisory committee was created, composed of bio-chemists and specialists in the economics of consumption and in consumer cooperation, who issued a most useful report. Shortly after, the League created the Mixed Committee on Nutrition which brought together the foremost authorities of many countries and drew up the first international nutritional standards. Its work not only was greatly aided by contributions from the United States but in its turn made a striking contribution in the United States through the reinforcement of American workers who received a better hearing when supported by an international authority.

"An immense task remains to be done by international agencies. So far, work in the League and the Labor Office committees has demon-

strated the economic and social reasons and the extent of malnutrition, but we have had neither the time nor the staff to elaborate solutions or make blueprints essential for future economic planning. With the present emergency, the necessity for such blueprints is far greater than it was in 1937-38, when the reports were issued. There is a widespread feeling amongst labor groups in this country, for instance, that, whatever Germany's attitude towards the nutrition of the occupied territories may be, there is much to be said for its attitude towards the nutrition problems of its own people, where inequalities are less than in many other parts of the world. The development of a nutrition policy for the United States is very urgent at the present time.

"The work already done by the League is a great contribution to this vital question. In the period immediately following the war, we will have to know far more than we do at present of the nutritional needs of the whole world. To do this will require the collaboration of many agencies. Much material is available but by no means enough. It is my hope that we may soon plan for such an economic and biochemical analysis of future needs. The central international committee established at Geneva, the chain of national committees established in a score of countries around the world, and the documentation and reports already issued provide an excellent foundation for this most vital of tasks, which represents a true cornerstone of that social security which lies at the base of so much of our international discussion today."

NARCOTIC DRUGS

MR. HERBERT L. MAY

International drug control was described by Mr. Herbert L. May, Vice-President of the Permanent Central Opium Board and Acting Chairman of the Drug Supervisory Body.

"This activity is one of the few pieces of world-wide international machinery still functioning today," he said. "Last May, while Holland and Belgium were being invaded, the three international drug bodies were able to meet in Geneva, the Opium Advisory Committee in its twenty-fifth session and the Permanent Central Board and the Drug Supervisory Body for their periodical meetings. The first-named, at which eighteen of the twenty-five Governments members were represented, devoted special attention to the danger of an extension of illicit traffic and drug addiction as the result of war conditions. In December 1940, the Supervisory Body issued its annual statement of estimated world requirements of narcotic drugs, fixing the total limits of manufacture, import and export of drugs for 1941 on the basis of estimates received from fifty-three countries and forty-four territories, including eight countries under enemy occupation. In January 1941 the Permanent Central Board issued its annual report on the international movement of narcotic drugs. Subsequently, branch offices of the Permanent Central Board and the Supervisory Body were opened in Washington, largely through the help of the late Mr. Stuart J. Fuller and other officials of the State Department, and Mr. Harry J. Anslinger, United States Commissioner of Narcotics. From Washington it is hoped to continue to exercise control over the movement of drugs in the world, and particularly in certain parts of the Western Hemisphere in which national control may benefit by contact with these branch offices.

"The League's interest in drug control began at the very start in 1920. In order to assist the Council in fulfilling the duties put upon the League under Article 23c of the Covenant, an Opium Advisory Committee of Government representatives was set up and a special Opium Section was created in the Secretariat. In 1929, the Permanent Central Opium Board and in 1933 the Drug Supervisory Body were established in conformity with new international Conventions which further extended drug control. These four bodies are markedly different both in origin and in function, the first two dis-

tinctly League bodies, whereas the last two were set up under special Conventions, drawn up, however, under League auspices.

"The Advisory Committee could be represented as the General Staff, planning and supervising the campaign against the drug evil, and deserves credit for a great part of the progress made in the last twenty-two years. The Supervisory Body is an expert organization entrusted with the task of examining Government estimates of drug requirements and of issuing each year a statement showing the permissible limits in manufacture, export and import for the next year. The task of the Permanent Central Opium Board is to watch the international movement of narcotic drugs and to see that no country exceeds the approved estimates. If that limit has been exceeded, the Board notifies all parties to the Convention, which are then under obligation not to export drugs to such a country until the situation has been corrected by the furnishing of additional estimates and by full explanation. This amounts to a virtual embargo and constitutes a strong sanction which has been accepted by all countries and which has worked satisfactorily for seven years.

"Now a few words about the results. While between 1925 and 1929 at least 100 tons of narcotic drugs escaped into the illicit traffic (to a large extent from authorized factories in European countries), representing hundreds of millions of dollars in monetary value and an even greater economic loss through the enslavement of hundreds of thousands of human beings, the licensed factories were largely brought under control from 1929 onwards. In 1929 the world manufacture of morphine had reached the high figure of about 58 tons. For the period 1931 to 1935, as a result of the application of the drug Conventions, the total world manufacture had been reduced to an annual average of about 29 tons. Today, as the result of war necessities, this figure has again risen to approximately 40 tons.

"The future holds opportunities for further progress. When the war broke out, a convention for the limitation of production had already been prepared and sent to Governments. Moreover, we should remember that the close of the last war showed a great increase in drug addiction and illicit traffic, because of conditions created by the war and of large quantities of drugs in circulation. The present war is likely to produce similar dangers unless stringent control continues to be exercised."

SOCIAL WELFARE

MISS ELSA CASTENDYCK

An analysis of the League's work in social welfare and an outline of what will be desirable in the future was given by Miss Elsa Castendyck, of the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor and United States government representative on the League's Advisory Committee on Social Questions.

"The object of the League," Miss Castendyck said, "is stated in the Covenant to be the establishment of peace based upon social justice. Recognizing that states are interdependent and that widespread privation, hardship and injustice in any nations threatens peace and harmony in the world, the League sought to establish a framework within which these political and social handicaps could be considered and measures taken to combat them, particularly in the field of labor through the International Labor Organization, in that of health and nutrition through the Health Committee, and in that of social problems by the Advisory Committee on Social Questions.

"The first problem to be attacked was the oldest and most difficult of all social problems, traffic in women. Effort here led to a new convention in 1921, a permanent Advisory Committee meeting annually, a world-wide series of studies in Europe, the Americas, and the East, a special regional conference in Java, a series of reports issued on immigration, rehabilitation of prostitutes, and control of souteneurs, and a continuous and steady attack on this vicious practice. The child welfare work, which developed later, involved the assembling of information from all over the world, the making of special investigations and studies, a system of annual reports from governments on legislative and administrative measures, and the establishment of a Child Welfare Information Center to provide data on trends throughout the world. Other subjects also were taken up in this broad field.

"Several suggestions emerge from this work. While very real results were achieved, the major weakness was that the inquiries dealt with isolated subjects without a broad framework or a sharp focus. The permanent staff was too small and too limited in authority; the Committee was not always effective; funds were insufficient. But the work is an increasingly essential part of any international order

seeking to promote the welfare of the individual and the progress of democracy; it might well find guidance in the Children's Bureau in the United States which has had to solve similar problems amongst our 48 states.

"While immediate international action is necessarily restricted in present circumstances, certain social and health problems involving European and American nations are susceptible of cooperative action, notably those involved in the establishment of American bases in British territory or in the care of European refugees, particularly children, in the United States, towards the study of which League social welfare experts might make a valuable contribution. A long-range collaboration for post-war problems is even more important. There will be thousands of orphaned children, hosts of displaced people, depressed racial minorities, and health and nutritional problems on an unprecedented scale. The rapid development of public responsibility for social welfare indicates that such problems will increasingly be the concern of public, tax-supported organizations. There will be a need for an international body with a staff of highly trained and authoritative civil servants, a budget making possible travel, conference and research, grants-in-aid for special responsibilities as in devastated or mandated areas, and closest cooperation with cognate agencies in the fields of labor and health. A partnership based on broad acceptance of common values is essential if insecurity, degradation and bitterness are to be avoided. The foundations already laid point out the broad lines for future development and extension of problems which are going to be infinitely more important after the war than they have ever been before."

JUSTICE

JUDGE MANLEY O. HUDSON

The importance and present status of the Permanent Court of International Justice were set forth by Judge Manley O. Hudson, fourth judge of American nationality following John Bassett Moore, Charles Evans Hughes, and Frank B. Kellogg.

"Wherever one turns in human history," Judge Hudson said, "he must be prepared to find striking paradoxes. We now look back on the two decades which preceded 1939 as the period of the gestation of a world war, and yet at the same time as the period of the greatest development in international law that we have ever known. Never before in any one or two decades has any comparable effort been made in this field. And when I speak of international law, I do not speak of something remote and far-removed and of use merely to the legal theoretician; I speak of an international law of everyday life, of an international law which matters to you and to me, today, tomorrow, and the next day.

"During this period we have developed an unprecedented body of international legislation. That legislation down to 1935 I have collected in six volumes, to which it is now necessary to add a seventh for the period through 1937. Most of that law has been given added effectiveness because the conventions embodying it contain a standard article relating to the settlement of disputes which may arise in the interpretation or application of their provisions, and most of those standard articles confer jurisdiction on the Permanent Court of International Justice.

"Parallel with this development of international legislation, extraordinary progress has been made in the development of a law of pacific settlement of disputes. Literally hundreds of treaties have been entered into, many of them going far beyond the patterns prevailing a generation ago. Again this progress has been facilitated by the existence of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

"The Court represents the fruition of a whole half century of international effort. An attempt to create an agency of that sort was first made in 1899 but it failed. Another attempt was made in 1907, but again it failed. A third attempt was made in 1920, and this time, due largely to the existence of the League of Nations, the attempt succeeded. More than fifty States have given their support to the

present World Court and it now has a record of twenty years of achievement.

"What were the difficulties which proved insuperable in 1899 and again in 1907, but which were overcome in 1920? There was first of all the difficulty of finding a method for electing the judges. The contest between the large States which claimed hegemony as Great Powers and the small States which insisted on the dogma of equality brought to wreck the earlier efforts. The solution found in 1920 was based upon the previous establishment of the Council of the League of Nations in which the Great Powers had permanent representation, and of the Assembly in which all States had equal voice. Eleven elections have now been held without any difficulty. The general election which had been completely prepared for the Assembly and Council sessions of September, 1939 had to be postponed because of the outbreak of the war at that very moment.

"Then there was the difficulty of finding a personnel for the Court. I think we have been fortunate in the fact that so many able men have been willing to give their time and energy to the work of the Court. The Presidents of the Court have been outstanding men; first Judge Loder of Holland, then Judge Huber of Switzerland, then Judge Anzilotti of Italy who is still a Judge of the Court, more recently Sir Cecil Hurst of Great Britain and now we have as President Judge Guererro of El Salvador. The Court was fortunate also in having a genius as its first Registrar, Mr. Hammarsjköld of Sweden. When he was elected a judge of the Court he was succeeded by the present Registrar, Mr. J. Lopez Olivan of Spain.

"Then it was feared that the Court could not be given adequate jurisdiction. An 'optional clause' was drawn up in 1920, giving the Court compulsory jurisdiction over legal disputes. For several years it was dormant, but some forty nations have in the course of these years become parties to that clause and it represents an advance which few people had dared to dream of forty years ago. In addition some 560 international treaties have been entered into by various States providing in one way or another for the jurisdiction of the Court.

"Finally it was thought that there would be difficulty in working out a satisfactory procedure. That fear has also proved to be un-

founded. From time to time the Court has revised its rules of Court, and on the whole they have proved a general satisfaction.

"What have been the contributions made by the Court in these twenty years? It has handled about sixty international disputes. It has handed down thirty judgments, twenty-seven advisory opinions and a large number of orders, and two cases are now pending before it. In all of this activity there has been no flouting of the Court's authority.

"These cases do not represent the Court's greatest contribution, however. Courts are important not merely because of the cases with which they deal, but also because of their influence on cases which never come before them. I am sure that many disputes have been settled out of Court, merely because the World Court existed. Moreover, the existence of the Court has greatly facilitated the making of treaties with reference to the pacific settlement of disputes.

"The Court has held two sessions since the war began in 1939. Its latest session in February, 1940, was to have been followed by a session in May, but this was not held because of the invasion of the Netherlands. The occupying authority did not disturb the officials of the Court who were at The Hague, but when the diplomatic missions there were invited to leave on July 18, the Court's officials were informed that their diplomatic status would also end on that date; the President and Registrar, therefore, departed from The Hague, a special train being provided by the occupying authority. Since then the President and Registrar are at Geneva, carrying on the correspondence of the Court and doing what they can to keep the institution together.

"If the Court is not the most important of the agencies of international government, it is nevertheless essential and few of us can imagine a world which would be content to be without it. If the present Court should not survive it would be a very difficult task to reconstruct an agency of this kind. Let me compare it with some of our American institutions. None of us doubts the value of the Congress of the United States, yet I hesitate to think of what would happen if we had the problem before us of creating that Congress anew. The Supreme Court of the United States has similarly served a most useful purpose in our national history, but again I should hesitate to think of what would happen if we had before us the prob-

lem of establishing such an institution. In the same way I am indeed fearful that years of effort will be necessary if we have to recreate the Permanent Court of International Justice.

"The fate of a great movement of this kind may depend on very small things, even on a few thousand dollars. Last fall the financial authorities of the League of Nations meeting at Lisbon felt constrained to reduce the Court's budget by nine-tenths of the amount previously appropriated. That means that there is now no money available for paying the salaries of the judges, though the judges have given up other occupations in order to serve the international community. The future of a great institution of this kind may come down to a question of a very small sum of money. Yet all of us will say that we cannot allow to perish an institution which represents the fruition of so many years of effort, which is now imbedded in 560 international treaties and conventions, and which in twenty years has made such a big contribution to international life."

LABOR OFFICE

MR. CARTER GOODRICH

The present status of the International Labor Office and its essential contribution, both to the winning of the war and the consolidation of the peace, were described by Mr. Carter Goodrich, United States Government Representative to, and present Chairman of, the Governing Body.

"As an American privileged to take part in the work of the International Labor Organization, I bring you fraternal greetings from the new ILO center at Montreal, which was established through the foresight of Mr. Winant, the generosity of the Canadian Government, which has given it welcome and full status, and the hospitality of McGill University, extended in the same gracious spirit as that of the Princeton institutions whose guest we are today.

"The Montreal Office is referred to as the ILO's *working center.* Both words are important. It is certainly center rather than branch, for policy as well as research functions are concentrated there. Though the staff is smaller, some fifty members of 17 nationalities, and the administrative structure simpler than at Geneva, there are officials carrying on each of the characteristic lines of the Office's work. They are aided by a far-flung network of colleagues in other countries. A small staff has been maintained at Geneva; the branch offices at Washington, London and Delhi have been strengthened; and the number of national correspondents has been increased. On the basis of regular reports from officials in twenty-four countries, the Labor Office, even short-handed as it is, is continuing to function as the world center of information on labor questions.

"It is also most hard working. When I was last there a week ago, a meeting of government representatives, workers, and employers of the United States and Canada was under way. The group from this side included the three American members of the Governing Body and Dr. Lubin, United States Commissioner of Labor Statistics. The group from Canada included the Deputy Minister of Labor, the Canadian member of the Governing Body, officials of the Department of Munitions and Supply, the president of the Canadian Trades Union Congress, and several Canadian employers. Their subject was the organization of the labor supply to meet the imperious requirements of the defense programs. I cite this case, first, because it indicates the desire of the ILO to serve here and now in the present emergency;

and second, because the circumstances under which the discussion was held illustrate the characteristic methods of the Organization. Some two months before, the same group had requested the Office to make a report focusing its knowledge of the methods by which labor supply has been organized in various countries on the problems now being encountered in the United States and Canada. The discussion of this developed certain significant differences, not only technical and geographical as between the two countries, but also internal as between those responsible for munitions supply, concerned to make sure that no labor and no raw materials needed for defense should be wasted on non-essentials, and labor spokesmen, anxious to see that men should not be thrown out of their ordinary occupations until they could be brought into the defense effort. Yet the group reached a substantial degree of agreement and formulated a set of policy conclusions. The forthcoming report on *Labor Supply and National Defence* will thus represent the results of study by an international staff corrected by discussion with experienced government officials, employers and workers who have heavy responsibilities in the application of labor policy in the two countries. This combination of policy discussion with research activity illustrates the unique opportunity and function of an international organization based on the representation not only of governments but also of employers and workers.

"Another activity facilitated by the transfer to this side has been the provision of technical and expert advice to various Latin American governments. Since the 1939 Havana Conference, an increasing number of governments have requested the services of experts in the drafting of labor legislation and the improvement of social administration. At Bolivia's request, the chief of the Office's Social Insurance section drafted a complete new social security code which was introduced as part of the program of the incoming President. Similar assistance has been given to the governments of Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru and Chile. The Assistant Director of the Office is now on mission in Mexico. Much of this work has been in the field of social security, the growing interest in which has led to the creation under ILO auspices of an Inter-American Committee to forward Social Security, for whose first meeting preparations are now in process. It is significant that it is from an organization dedicated to democratic principles that these nations are seeking advice and assistance.

"Emphasis on these increased activities in the Americas should not, however, obscure the essential continuity of the ILO's work as a universal agency. In publication, for example, continuity has been well maintained. The International Labor Review has been issued from Montreal each month since last October, the Germans recently paying it the dangerous tribute of imitation by issuing the first number of their own 'Neuer Rundschau,' perhaps the first step in the creation of an Ersatz ILO. The Legislative Series is being continued and the Industrial Safety Survey has been resumed. Several additions have been recently made to the series of Studies and Reports, with special attention naturally given to the problems raised by the war in belligerent and neutral countries, as in the volume "Studies in War Economics," or the brief report prepared in the London Office on British adjustments in labor policy during the critical months between June and October, 1940.

"But the continuity goes deeper. It involves subject matter and fundamental purpose as well, as movingly expressed in Mr. Winant's report addressed to the 'Governments, Employers and Workers of Member States' on the day of his resignation.

"This may be illustrated by mention of one interrupted activity that points ahead toward the major social problems of the war and of the peace to come. The principal subject scheduled for the Labor Conference last June was to have been that of methods of collaboration between governments and the associations of employers and workers. The Office's 350-page report was issued on the third of May; on the tenth the great invasion began, and the Conference had to be adjourned. Yet everything that has happened since has served to demonstrate the urgency of the problem, and to make clear that the democracies cannot arm themselves strongly and rapidly enough to survive unless they can secure and maintain effective cooperation between governments, organized industry, and organized labor.

"An important element in the national strength and unity displayed by the British has been the extension of collaboration further and further into the day-to-day problems of industry. Every deepening of the emergency has been met by the strengthening of the processes of economic democracy. All the restrictions accepted by British employers and all the heavy sacrifices made by British workingmen, have been made by consent, after full consultation with their representative

organizations, which have taken an increased power and responsibility in the national life.

"This theme of collaboration, therefore, will be maintained as the principal subject of discussion at the next ILO Conference which will be held at the earliest practicable moment. The Office is preparing a supplementary Report which will indicate the ways in which the responsible cooperation of employers' and workers' organizations with government can strengthen the war and defense efforts of the democracies.

"Moreover, I hope that this will go still further and carry over into the period that will follow the war. The demobilization of the armed forces and of the still greater armies of workers in the defense industries, their transfer and reabsorption in the work of peace, the weaving together again of the broken strands of world commerce, the restoration of devastated areas, the rebuilding of an economic system to feed and clothe and shelter what may well be a continent in utter chaos, the re-creation on a sounder basis of a democratic way of life where democracy has been shattered—all these will be tasks calling for the fullest cooperation between governments, trade unions and employers' associations.

"This is a significant aspect of the fundamental challenge which the International Labor Organization must meet. To this, like the Secretariat, it brings the experience of 21 years of international activity. The ILO offers in the service of the democratic peoples the unique equipment of structure and practice which embody the effective cooperation between governments and the free associations of employers and workers. It has a great contribution to make both to present-day problems and to the working out of that social security on which peace and justice will truly depend."

PUBLIC

MISS MARY E. WOOLLEY

A confession of faith and a program of support were outlined by Miss Mary E. Woolley, President Emeritus of Mount Holyoke College and Chairman of the American National Committee to Preserve the Technical and Non-political Activities of the League.

"The genesis of this Committee," Dr. Woolley said, "was contained in a note from a non-official group in Geneva, received from Mrs. Laura Puffer Morgan, asking whether I would present to President Roosevelt a request that Congress make an appropriation for the support of the League's Non-political activities with which the United States had been cooperating. I confess that I was not very sanguine but presented the request to the President. He suggested instead, the formation of an unofficial committee of Americans who might be interested to help this work, and after consulting the Department of State, the committee was launched. The response by those invited to serve on it was most gratifying.

"As I have listened to the wide variety of subjects discussed here, I have been impressed by the fact that one has not been mentioned, namely, how to make real to the general public the significance of the League. How many millions of our countrymen are ignorant of the vital things of which you have been speaking? And yet, our failure to join the League was certainly due in part to a lack of public understanding of what the League might mean for the future of humanity.

"Our first task, then, is to stress the importance of a League as an international conference center. That conference center is a necessity unless humanity is to recede from the civilization which it has attained, but there are thousands, possibly millions, of human beings in these United States who think that the League has already gone out of existence! They must be shown that the history of the League belongs not only to the past but even more truly to the future.

"We must realize that no great result can be achieved without great effort. We face a task which will be hard; it is time to begin both our mental and our spiritual preparations to shape the public opinion of the United States. I crave for this country of ours the realization of Woodrow Wilson's hope for the United States: 'America first? Yes, first in moral leadership.' "

FUTURE

DR. FRANK AYDELOTTE

The session was fittingly brought to a close, following adoption of a resolution of appreciation offered by the Hon. Henry F. Grady, by Dr. Frank Aydelotte, Director of the Institute for Advanced Study, who made a general assessment of the past value of these varied activities and a forecast of their essential place in whatever form of international life may result from the present war.

"In thanking you on my own behalf and on behalf of my colleagues, Dr. Dodds and Dr. TenBroeck, for the gracious resolution you have passed, I am sure I can also speak for them in saying that we are delighted that the members of this Conference were willing to come to Princeton to discuss work which has been so important in the past and which has such possibilities for the future. I am deeply impressed by the character of the individuals present at this Conference and feel that the story of the technical activities of the League, the Court and the ILO, as told last night, this morning and this afternoon, adds up to something very great and new in the world. The contribution which these agencies have made to human welfare during the last twenty years has opened a new era in the field of international relations; that contribution has been too little understood and too much taken for granted. Whatever the situation after this war, whatever form of international organization we may have, these activities must be preserved.

"It was precisely because we felt the importance of preserving these activities and of holding together the splendid groups of men and women who conduct them, that our three institutions invited the technical sections of the League to come here from Geneva. Not all were able to come; indeed, it was only by a kind of miracle that those groups which are in the United States were able to make their way from Geneva across the Atlantic. I hope that the age of miracles has not passed and that the presence on this side of representatives of the technical activities of the League may be taken as tangible evidence of the interest of our citizens in the problem of world government and as a harbinger of a new attitude on our part after the war: the end of our policy of isolation and the beginning of effective American support of a world government, which is necessary if civilization is to survive."

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